

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
AID-05 COME-00 EB-08 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02
OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-07 CEA-01 AGRE-00
DOE-15 SOE-02 ACDA-12 INT-05 OES-07 CEQ-01 /143 W
-----015101 221156Z /11

R 220657Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4644
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 WARSAW 3378

EO 11652GDS
TAGS: ETRD, EFIN, EIND, EALR, EAIR, PL, UR, COMECON
SUBJ: SOVIET-POLISH ECONOMIC INTEGRATION: A FEW NOTCHES TIGHTER
IN 1978

1. SUMMARY. AN IMPORTANT ARTICLE IN NOWE DROGI BY A HIGH POLISH
GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL CONFIRMS THAT POLAND HAS AGREED TO EXPAND ITS
ECONOMIC INTEGRATION WITH THE USSR AND COMECON. INITIAL AGREEMENT WAS
REACHED AT A GIEREK-BREZHNEV MEETING IN AUGUST, 1977, AND SPECIFIC
SECTORS FOR LONG-TERM COOPERATION WERE FIXED DURING THE VISIT OF PRIME
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MINISTER JAROSZEWICZ TO MOSCOW IN JANUARY, 1978. FURTHER DETAILS AND
AGREEMENTS WERE APPARENTLY ARRANGED DURING A TEN-DAY VISIT TO MOSCOW
IN MARCH BY THE CHAIRMAN OF POLAND'S PLANNING COMMISSION. IN ADDITION
TO CITING THE VARIOUS NEW AREAS IN WHICH CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE
USSR IS PLANNED--E.G. ATOMIC POWER STATIONS, OFFSHORE DRILLING,
TRACTORS AND NOTOR VEHICLES--THE NOWE DROGI ARTICLE CONTAINS IN-

INTERESTING DETAILS ON POLAND'S ECONOMIC TIES WITH THE USSR. THESE INCLUDE POLISH RAW MATERIAL AND ENERGY IMPORTS AND PARTICIPATION IN SOVIET INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS. WE BELIEVE THIS INCREASED COOPERATION WITH THE USSR IS PARTIALLY A MATTER OF NECESSITY DUE TO POLAND'S SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND PARTIALLY IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET CRITICISM OF ALLEGED RECKLESS FINANCIAL DEALING BY THE POLES WITH THE CAPITALIST WORLD. ALTHOUGH THE IMPACT OF THIS INCREASED INTEGRATION ON POLISH RELATIONS WITH THE WEST WILL NOT BE KNOWN FOR SOME TIME, WE BELIEVE THE COUNTRY WILL BE ABLE TO ABSORB IT AND STILL MAINTAIN ITS LESS-THAN-SOVIET BRAND OF COMMUNISM AND ITS MORE OPEN RELATIONS WITH THE WEST. END SUMMARY.

2. THE TEMPO AND DIRECTION OF POLISH ECONOMIC LINKS WITH THE USSR ARE SPELLED OUT IN UNUSUAL DETAIL IN AN ARTICLE IN THE APRIL ISSUE OF NOWE DROGI, THE AUTHORITATIVE JOURNAL OF THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PZPR). THE ARTICLE, WRITTEN BY PLANNING COMMISSION DEPUTY CHAIRMAN JANUSZ HRYNKIEWICZ CONFIRMS PREVIOUS INDICATIONS THAT A SERIES OF SOVIET-POLISH OFFICIAL CONTACTS OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS HAVE BEEN CONCERNED WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A POLISH AGREEMENT TO INCREASE ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND ALSO WITH COMECON.

MENT TO INCREASE ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND ALSO WITH COMECON.

3. IN HRYNKIEWICZ'S WORDS, THIS INCREASED COOPERATION CONSTITUTES "A NEW PHASE" IN ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND POLAND. THE INITIAL AGREEMENT FOR THE NEW PHASE WAS REACHED DURING GIEREK'S TALKS
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WITH BREZHNEV IN THE CRIMEA IN AUGUST, 1977. SPECIFIC ECONOMIC SECTORS

FOR LONG-TERM COOPERATION WERE DETERMINED AND AGREED UPON AT THE MEETING

OF PRIME MINISTER JAROSZEWICZ WITH KOSYGIN AND BREZHNEV IN MOSCOW ON JANUARY 30 AND 31, 1978. A THIRD SIGNIFICANT EVENT--NOT MENTIONED IN HRYNKIEWICZ--WAS THE RECENT TEN-DAY VISIT TO MOSCOW (MARCH 20-30) BY POLISH PLANNING COMMISSION CHAIRMAN TADUESZ WRZASZCZYK. ALTHOUGH THE PURPOSE OF HIS VISIT WAS TO ATTEND THE MEETING OF COMECON PLANNING COMMISSION, WRZASZCZYK ALSO MET SEPARATELY WITH SOVIET GOSPLAN CHIEF N.K. BAYBAKOV AND DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTER K.F. KATUSHEV, A SPECIALIST ON SOVIET-EAST EUROPEAN-COMECON RELATIONS.

4. JUST HOW EXTENSIVE THIS NEW EXPANSION OF POLISH-SOVIET ECONOMIC COOPERATION IS AND WHAT IMPACT IT WILL HAVE ON POLAND'S RELATIONS WITH THE WEST IS NOT CLEAR AND PROBABLY WILL NOT BE FOR MANY MONTHS AND POSSIBLY FOR ONE OR TWO YEARS. IT IS THE EMBASSY'S JUDGMENT THAT POLISH READINESS TO MOVE TOWARD CLOSER INTEGRATION, TO SIGN AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIETS FOR NEW JOINT PROJECTS, NEW INDUSTRIAL CO-PRODUCTION AGREEMENTS, NEW EXCHANGES OF TECHNICIANS AND SPECIALISTS, NEW FORMS OF COLLABORATION AND ALL THE OTHER INVOLVED, CON-

VOLUTED ARRANGEMENTS WHICH MAKE UP THE BUREAUCRATIC MAZE CALLED
"SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION", IS
PARTLY A MATTER OF NECESSITY IN VIEW OF POLAND'S PRESENT ECONOMIC
DIFFICULTIES. ANOTHER REASON MAY BE THE NEED TO ASSURAGE SOVIET
CRITICISM OF POLAND'S ALLEGEDLY IRRESPONSIBLE FINANCIAL DEALING WITH
THE CAPITALIST WORLD. IN ANY EVENT, THE DECISIONS REACHED IN THE CRIMEA

AND IN MOSCOW WERE CERTAINLY MADE WITH SOVIET ENCOURAGEMENT. THEY ARE,

AFTER ALL, IN LINE WITH LONG-RANGE COMECON COMPLEX PROGRAM OBJECTIVES.

THEY ALSO SUPPORT SOVIET STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES FOR EASTERN EUROPE--
INCREASED ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON THE USSR AS AN ADJUNCT TO
POLITICAL AND MILITARY CONTROL OF THE REGION.
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5. WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND THE APPEASEMENT AS WELL
AS THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THIS NEW AGREEMENT. IN SOME WAYS THERE ARE
OVERTONES OF MEDIEVAL TRIBUTE, ASSURANCE TO THE NEIGHBORING POWER
WHICH MAINTAINS TWO TANK DIVISIONS ON POLISH SOIL THAT POLAND MAIN-
TAINS FEALTY TO MUSCOVY DESPITE ITS EXTENSIVE COMMERCIAL AND

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DOE-15 SOE-02 ACDA-12 INT-05 OES-07 CEQ-01 /143 W
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R 220657Z APR 78
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FINANCIAL DEALINGS WITH THE CAPITALIST WEST. WE RECALL THE COMMENT MADE BY JAROSZEWICZ TO SECRETARY OF COMMERCE KREPS IN DECEMBER, 1977, THAT POLAND "HAD BEEN CRITICIZED AT A COMECON MEETING IN MOSCOW" FOR ITS HEAVY INDEBTEDNESS TO CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. KOSYGIN HAD QUOTED FIGURES FROM AN ARTICLE IN A SWISS NEWSPAPER,. OBVIOUSLY, THE SOVIET COULD POINT OUT, SOME NEW, TANGIBLE POLISH ASSURANCE OF LOYALTY TO THE USSR AND TO COMECON PRINCIPLES WOULD BE IN ORDER. AND OBVIOUSLY, A COUNTRY WHICH WAS A CLOSE ALLY OF THE USSR AND ALSO REEL-

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ING FROM FOUR YEARS OF BAD HARVESTS, FOOD SHORTAGES AND THE PROBLEM OF SATISFYING A DISGRUNTLED, VOLATILE POPULATION, WAS IN NO POSITION TO OBJECT TO SOVIET SUGGESTIONS THAT IT CONSTRUCT MORE SOVIET AIRCRAFT IN ITS FACTORIES, PRODUCE MORE PARTS FOR SOVIET MOTOR VEHICLES AND WORK WITH SOVIET SPECIALISTS IN BUILDING ATOMIC POWER PLANTS.

6. MOVING FROM THE RATIONALE FOR THIS POLISH ACTION, IT IS INTERESTING

TO LOOK AT THE SPECIFICS OF THE HRYNKIEWICZ ARTICLE. SOME OF THE FIGURES ON SOVIET AND POLISH DELIVERIES HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED BEFORE, BUT OTHERS, ESPECIALLY FUTURE PLANS, ARE NEW. ALTOGETHER, THE ARE IMPRESSIVE:

AL SOVIET SPONSORSHIP OF SPECIFIC POLISH INDUSTRIES- THE POLISH AVIATION INDUSTRY IS A FINE EXAMPLE OF THE BENEFITS OF LONG-TERM SOVIET INDUSTRIAL-TECHNICAL SUPPORT. FLOUNDERING IN RUINS AFTER THE WAR, IT RECEIVED LICENSES AND EQUIPMENT FOR CONSTRUCTION OF SOVIET TRAINING

PLANES AND LATER SMALL FIGHTER AIRCRAFT. HAVING RECEIVED SOVIET LICENSES FOR PRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURAL AIRCRAFT, POLAND IS NOW THE WORLD'S LEADING PRODUCER OF THIS TYPE OF PLANE. IN 1977, FOLLOWING SIGNATURE OF A CO-PRODUCTION AGREEMENT WITH THE USSR, POLAND BEGAN MANUFACTURE OF SPARE PARTS, WING CONTROL MECHANISMS AND OTHER SECTIONS OF THE SOVIETTL-86 AIRBUS. AND EARLY IN 1978 THE POLISH AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY CONTRACTED TO PRODUCE THE SOVIET AN-28 SHORT-

RANGE PASSENGER AIRCRAFT. CONSEQUENTLY, THE POLISH AND SOVIET AIRCRAFT INDUSTRIES CAN BE REGARDED AS HIGHLY INTEGRATED. ANOTHER SECTOR

WHICH HAS RECEIVED NON-STOP SOVIET AID IS THE STEEL INDUSTRY, WHICH HAS BEEN GETTING SOVIET DESIGNS AND EQUIPMENT FOR MORE THAN 20 YEARS. NOW IT IS ATTAINING SUCH HUGE CAPACITIES-MAINLY BECAUSE OF THE KATOWICE COMPLEX-THAT SOON MUTUAL DELIVERIES OF METALLURGICAL EQUIPMENT WILL BE TAKING PLACE BETWEEN POLAND AND THE USSR. FOLLOWING LONG-TERM SOVIET SUPPORT FOR THE POWER INDUSTRY, POLAND IS NOW PRO-CONFIDENTIAL

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DUCING 500 MEGAWATT TURBINES AND WILL SOON RECEIVE EQUIPMENT FOR CONSTRUCTION OF ITS FIRST NUCLEAR POWER PLANT.

B) SOVIET EXPORTS TO POLAND COVER 23 PERCENT OF OVERALL DEMAND FOR MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT WHICH WILL BE VALUED AT 1.2 BILLION RUBLES (ABOUT US DOLS 1.6 BILLION) IN 1978. AMONG MAJOR ITEMS NOW BEING IMPORTED FROM THE USSR ARE PLANTS TO MAKE PRE-FABRICATED HOUSING, GREEN HOUSES, AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY, HEAVY TRACTORS, DIESEL AND ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVES, AND LARGE QUANTITIES OF CONSUMER GOODS SUCH AS CAMERAS, VACUUM CLEANERS, BICYCLES, PRIVATE AUTOMOBILES, WASHING MACHINES AND WATCHES AND CLOCKS (ALMOST 2.4 MILLION YEARLY OF LAST CATEGORY).

C) POLISH EXPORTS TO THE USSR - SOME OUTSTANDING ACHIVEMENTS IN POLISH EFFORTS "TO ASSIST THE USSR" IN MEETING ITS YEARLY PLANS HAVE INCLUDED EXPORTS OF:

-SHIPS- 650 HAVE BEEN DELIVERED TO THE SOVIETS SINCE 1949. THEY NOW INCLUDE TANKERS, CONTAINER SHIPS, SPECIAL FISHING VESSELS AND FERRIES. THE USSR BUYS 60 PERCENT OF ALL POLISH SHIPS EXPORTED. ONE-FIFTH OF TOTAL SOVIET MERCHANT MARINE TONNAGE IS MADE IN POLAND. -CONSTRUCTION AND ROADBUILDING MACHINERY - POLAND ACCOUNTS FOR 70 PERCENT OF SOVIET IMPORTS OF HYDRAULIC EXCAVATORS, 90 PERCENT OF IMPORTS OF UP TO 3 CUBIC METER LOADERS, 100 PERCENT OF ALL AXLES AND GEARBOXES FOR CONSTRUCTION MACHINERY, 30 PERCENT OF ALL SOVIET IMPORTS OF HEAVY BULLDOZERS.

-MOBILE CRANES - ON THE BASIS OF A JOINT-DESIGN OFFICE IN WARSAW, AND ODESSA, POLAND WILL SOON BEGIN PRODUCTION OF MOBILE CRANES UP TO 100 TONS IN CAPACITY FOR EXPORT TO THE USSR AND THIRD COUNTRIES UNDER LONG-TERM CONTRACTS.

-COMPLETE PLANTS - FROM 1946 THROUGH 1975 POLAND EXPORTED ABOUT 250 COMPLETE INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS TO THE USSR. THESE HAVE INCLUDED 16 SUGAR MILLS, 19 SULPHURIC ACID FACTORIES, AND 77 LINES FOR FIBERBOARD PRODUCTION. DURING THE 1976-80 PLAN PERIOD POLAND WILL EXPORT TO THE USSR 23 SULPHURIC ACID PLANTS WITH TOTAL CAPACITY OF 11 MILLION TONES, SIX SUGAR PLANTS, 10 BREWRIES, 6 PHTHALIC ACID ANHYDRIDE FACTORIES, AND TWO YEAST PLANTS.

D) INDUSTRIAL CO-SPECIALIZATION AND PRODUCTION - BILATERAL TRADE IN THIS SECTOR IS MOVING UPWARD RAPIDLY. IT ACCOUNTED FOR EIGHT PERCENT

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OF TOTAL TURNOVER IN 1971-75 AND WILL BE OVER 23 PERCENT IN THIS PLAN PERIOD. IT ACCOUNTS FOR 50 PERCENT OF MUTUAL DELIVERIES OF MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT AND ITS VALUE WILL REACH 2.7 BILLION RUBLES (US DOLS 3.6 BILLION) IN 1980.

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DOE-15 SOE-02 ACDA-12 INT-05 OES-07 CEQ-01 /143 W
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AMONG THE OUTSTANDING EXAMPLES OF POLISH CO-PRODUCTION FOR SOVIET INDUSTRY ARE:

- SHIPMENT OF 50,000 BRAKE ASSEMBLIES FOR KAMA TRUCKS;
- PRODUCTION OF 400,000 SUB-ASSEMBLIES FOR SOVIET ZHIGULI CARS MANUFACTURED AT TOGLIATTI;
- GEAR BOXES, REAR AXLES AND CARDAN SHAFTS FOR SOVIET ROAD-BUILDING MACHINES;
- SHIPMENT OF ABOUT 360,000 ELECTROMAGNETIC COUPLINGS A YEAR TO THE USSR MACHINE TOOL INDUSTRY (60 PERCENT OF ALL SOVIET MACHINE TOOLS

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NOW USE POLISH ELECTROMAGNETIC COUPLINGS).

E) AGREEMENT ON NEW AREAS OF CO-PRODUCTION AND SPECIALIZATION - DURING

THE JANUARY 30-31 MEETING OF PRIME MINISTER JAROSZEWICZ WITH KOSYGIN IN MOSCOW, A NUMBER OF NEW AREAS FOR JOINT POLISH-SOVIET CO-PRODUCTION AND SPECIALIZATION WERE SELECTED. THEY INCLUDE: PRODUCTION OF EQUIPMENT FOR NUCLEAR POWER STATIONS, LARGE TRUCKS; OFFSHORE G DRILLING EQUIPMENT, CHEMICAL INDUSTRY MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT; HEAVY MACHINERY FOR THE BUILDING INDUSTRY; ROAD BUILDING MACHINERY; EQUIPMENT FOR STEEL AND IRON INDUSTRY; MINING MACHINERY; EQUIPMENT FOR "INTENSIVE OIL PROCESSING" AND ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVES. IN ADDITION, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED FOR CO-PRODUCTION OF LARGE, 150 HORSE-POWER TRACTORS, WITH POLAND ACCOUNTING FOR TWENTY PERCENT OF PRODUCTION. THE THREE KEY ELEMENTS FOR THE NEW SPECIALIZATION PHASE ARE TO BE 1) LONG-TERM, LARGE-SCALE DELIVERIES; 2) THE MAINTENANCE OF HIGH TECHNICAL STANDARDS; AND 3) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW LINKS OR AGREEMENTS BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL INDUSTRIES IN RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES.

F) SOVIET RAW MATERIAL DELIVERIES TO POLAND - THE USSR COVER 35 PERCENT OF POLAND'S RAW MATERIAL AND FUEL IMPORT REQUIREMENTS. DURING 1976 SOVIET DELIVERIES COVERED POLISH IMPORT REQUIREMENTS AS FOLLOWS: OIL - 77 PERCENT; IRON ORE - 73 PERCENT; PIG IRON - 80 PERCENT; NICKEL - 100 PERCENT; ALUMINUM - 62 PERCENT; SAWN TIMBER - 100 PERCENT; CELLULOSE - 83 PERCENT. DURING 1978 THE USSR HAS CONTRACTED TO DELIVER TO POLAND 13 MILLION TONS OF CRUDE OIL AND TWO MILLION TONS OF OIL PRODUCTS. SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II POLAND HAS IMPORTED 99 MILLION TONS OF CRUDE OIL AND 31 MILLION TONS OF OIL PRODUCTS FROM THE USSR. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT IN POLAND EVERY FOURTH WORKER IN INDUSTRY WORKS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY WITH RAW MATERIALS IMPORTED FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

G) POLISH RAW MATERIAL DELIVERIES TO THE USSR - POLAND IS AHEAD OF ALL OTHER "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES IN CONTRIBUTING TO SOVIET RAW MATERIAL AND ENERGY REQUIREMENTS. IT SUPPLIES 100 PERCENT OF SOVIET

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IMPORTS OF COAL, 99 PERCENT OF SOVIET SULPHUR IMPORTS, 94 PERCENT OF SOVIET ZINC IMPORTS. SINCE THE END OF THE WAR POLAND HAS EXPORTED 227 MILLION TONS OF ANTHRACITE COAL TO THE USSR.

IN ADDITION TO REGULAR BILATERAL TRADE IN RAW MATERIALS, IT IS A LONG-RANGE OBJECTIVE OF POLISH GOVERNMENT POLICY TO LINK THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY TO SOVIET RAW MATERIAL AND ENERGY BASES

-BOTH FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REASONS. CONSEQUENTLY, POLAND IS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THE VARIOUS COMECON MULTILATERAL PROJECTS IN WHICH MEMBER COUNTRIES CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF RAW MATERIAL

AND ENERGY DESPOSITS ON SOVIET TERRITORY -- SUCH AS NATURAL
GAS, CELLULOSE, ASBESTOS, IRON ORE. POLAND'S PERFORMANCE IN
THESE PROJECTS HAS RECEIVED HIGH PRAISE FROM SOVIET EXPERTS. SCHAUFEL
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ECONOMIC COOPERATION, REPORTS, ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978WARSAW03378
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780172-0563
Format: TEL
From: WARSAW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780426/aaaaawfd.tel
Line Count: 390
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c2e3c9a8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2877131
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET-POLISH ECONOMIC INTEGRATION: A FEW NOTCHES TIGHTER IN 1978
TAGS: ETRD, EFIN, EIND, EALR, EAIR, PL, UR, COMECON
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c2e3c9a8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014